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## ABBA, FATHER.

## TITLE OF SPIRITUAL LEADER AND SAINT.

IN his well-known rebuke of Pharisean ostentatiousness and love of public recognition (Matt. xxiii. 1-10) Jesus says to his disciples: "They love to be called of men Rabbi. But be ye not called Rabbi; for one is your teacher, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your father on the earth; for one is your father, which is in heaven. Neither be ye called masters, for one is your master, even the Christ." Lightfoot already observed that reference is here made to the three titles by which the leaders of the school were addressed in Talmudical times: Rabbi, Abba, and Moreh (see *Maccoth*, 24 a). Still, a careful glance at the New Testament passage reveals the fact that the text has been tampered with, since Jesus cannot well have spoken of himself in this manner.

Let us then consider the three titles and the judgment passed on them: (1) the title most in use certainly was *Rabbi*, my master, or master, and gradually this became a standing title for every recognized teacher. The title *Rab*, master, which in its fuller form *Ribbon*, Great Master, was often applied to God in prayer, implies submission and awe. "Let fear of thy master be like the fear of God (heaven)" is the rule of the early fathers (*Pirke Aboth*, IV, 7), and *Shimmush hakamim*, "servile attendance of the wise," is one of the conditions of acquiring knowledge of the Torah. If the disciple, therefore, happen to be at the side of the teacher when he goes to the bath-house, he is bound to carry his clothes for him. Against such claims of superiority Jesus remonstrated, laying down the

principle of perfect equality. Instead of bidding his disciples to wash his feet before reclining at the supper table, as he might have done, he humbly washed the feet of each of them, as the Gospel of John relates. Accordingly he did not claim the rank of master for himself. He wanted, on the contrary, to reserve the name of *Rab*, master, for him who is the Master of the world, *Ribbono shel Olam*, and therefore they were to drop the name of Rabbi altogether: "One is your Master, and that is God." The Greek word *Didascalos*, teacher, is incorrect. Likewise is the sentence, "And all ye are brethren," misplaced; it belongs to the following verse which refers to *Abba*.

(2) The second title in use was *Abba*, "father." With reference to this Jesus says: "Call none of you on earth *Abba*, father, for one is your Father, he who is in heaven, and all ye are brethren." Who it was that the people addressed by this name, we shall see immediately. Let us first dispose of the third title.

(3) Next to Rabbi we find the title of *Moreh* (Aram. *Malfono*), teacher or guide, for which the Greek equivalent *Katechetes* was quite common in the philosophical schools. Of it Jesus says: "Neither let yourselves be addressed as teachers (or guides), for there is but one Guide, and that is . . . ." Obviously the name of Christ has been substituted here by the compilers for another word, and that is, in all probability, *the Holy Spirit* (compare Isa. xxx. 20, where the word *Moreh* is twice translated in the Targum by *Shekhina*). "God through his interpreter, the Holy Spirit, is your only Guide."

Coming now to our main object, the explanation of the title *Abba*, we can dismiss all that has been thus far written on the subject as decidedly unsatisfactory. Frankel's note to *Abba Saul* in his *Hodegetica in Mishnam*, p. 176, which says: "It is a title of honour, but less than rabbi," referring to Rashi, *Br'achoth*, 16 b, has been repeated by Jastrow and others without further inquiry. The head slave was called *Abba*, also, but that has no bearing upon

our question. Dr. Buechler, in *Die Priester und der Cultus*, pp. 31-33, referring to a number of passages containing traditions concerning the temple and its mode of worship preserved by Tannaites bearing the title of *Abba*, comes to the conclusion that the title originated in priestly circles who had their chief seat—presumably after the destruction of the temple—in the South. But this does not explain the origin in the least.

Beginning with the Bible, we find the title of *Ab*, father, given not only to the originator, as in Gen. iv. 20, 21 (where the Targum translates *rab*), but also to an adviser (Gen. xlv. 8; Judges xvii. 10, where Targum has also *Ab*). Thus do also the young prophets call their master *Ab*, father (1 Sam. x. 12; 2 Kings ii. 12; vi. 21). In like manner are Hillel and Shammai called the “fathers of the world” (*Eduyoth*, I, 4), and also their schools (*Yerush. Haggiga*, II, p. 77 d); also R. Jishmael and R. Akiba (*Yerush. Shkalim*, III, 47 b); and, like Moses, R. Tarfon is called “father of entire Israel” (*Yer. Yoma*, I, 38 d).

“The fathers” became, therefore, the standing name for the ancient masters of the law, as is not only shown by the name of the treatise *Pirke Aboth*, “The Sayings of the Fathers,” but the very word for tradition preserved both in the Talmud and by Josephus (*Ant.*, XIII, 10, 6) is Masoreth *Aboth*, Tradition of the Fathers (see Hoffmann, *Die erste Mishnah*, p. 6; 267).

There is little doubt that the Church, in according to their heads the name of *fathers*, simply followed in the footsteps of the Synagogue<sup>1</sup>.

But the question is, whether particular individual teachers of the Law received the title of *Abba*, “father,” and who?

Let us then take up the list of the men called *Abba* in the Talmudical literature, one after the other, and inquire into their peculiar merit.

<sup>1</sup> The *Falashas* also call their leaders *Abba*, and they represent a branch of the Hasideans of the old school.

Before doing so, however, we must take notice of one spoken of as "father of the Jews" in the second book of the Maccabees (xiv. 37-46). The passage has not received the attention it deserves, because the name of the saint whose tragic end is there related, *Razis*, is, owing to the hand of a copyist, no longer to be recognized. Only Frankel, in his *Monatschrift*, 1852, p. 106, has noted the identification. He is described as one of the elders of Jerusalem, a lover of his fellow citizens, and a man of very great renown, and on account of his extreme piety called "a father of the Jews." He "encouraged the separation of Judaism from the Gentiles, and imperilled body and soul by his steadfastness to Judaism." In other words, then, he was the actual leader of the Hasideans, and, while he escaped when the other sixty were slain by Bacchides and Alkimos (1 Macc. vii. 16), he was now made the object of an especial attack by Nicanor, the friend of Alkimos, who sent five hundred men to capture him. He, however, preferred a cruel death by his own hands. Whatever legend may have added to the facts, there can be little doubt that the personality of the martyr is historical, and, if so, it can be no other than Jose ben *Joezer* of Sereda, the uncle of Alkimos, whose martyrdom is related in *Bereshith Rabba*, § 65. He was the spiritual head of the Pharisees, and remained their highest authority (see *Sota*, 47 a). The people called him by the endearing name of "father." But we may go a step further. According to the Rabbinical tradition he and Jose ben Johanan were the chiefs of the Sanhedrin. This tradition, however, which speaks of two Pharisean chiefs, does not stand the test of historical scrutiny, as was shown by Kuenen and others. The real chief, or *Nasi*, was the high priest, the head of the nation, while, on the other hand, it seems quite natural that the Pharisean, or Hasidean party, furnished the highest court of justice with a spiritual head, one distinguished (Mufla) by learning and saintliness. He, by his authority, was to decide the difficult cases in place of the high priest,

since the oracle of the *Urim we-Tumim* had ceased to voice the will of God. He had the rank and title of *Ab Beth Din*, "father of the court of Justice," and Josephus, whose remark on this point has been strangely overlooked by the historians, speaks of him as "the prophet" alongside of the high priest (*Ant.*, IV, 8, 4). We find the title "father" and "prophet," for the head of religious bodies, frequently on inscriptions of the time (see Schuerer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*, III, 3, 50). It is quite likely that a combination of the two powers represented by the high priest and the leader of the Hasideans was brought about in this form of a double régime (מִן Zeugos) under Judas Maccabee. Cp. Rappoport, *Erck Millin*, and Loewy, *Talmudisches Lexicon*, s. v. *Ab Beth Din*.

(2) The first man of distinction known to us as Abba is *Abba Hilkia*, the grandson of Onias the Saint, the story of whose martyrdom Josephus relates, while the memory of his miraculous power of intercession for rain in a time of great dearth is preserved alike by Josephus and the Mishna (see *Ant.*, XIV, 31, and *Taanith*, 19a). Like Onias, who, according to Midrash Tanhuma (*Vaera*, ed. Buber, II, 37), traced his pedigree back to Moses, Hilkia also succeeded in bringing down rain in a time of drought by the prayer he and his pious wife offered, but he humbly refused to acknowledge that it was due to his merit that the rain came (see *Taanith*, 23a, b). Singularly enough, it escaped the notice of the historians that this Abba Hilkia is none other than "Helkias the Great," of whom Josephus tells that he and Aristobulus, the brother of King Agrippa, went at the head of a deputation of Jews to Petronius, the Governor of Syria, to ask him to interfere in favour of the people with the Emperor Caligula that he should withdraw his edict concerning the erection of his statue in the temple, and when he showed his kind disposition to them, a miracle happened which greatly impressed the governor. It had not rained for a whole year, and in the midst of the great drought, behold, there

came out of a clear sky great showers of rain, which convinced the heathen governor of God's special favour and providential care for his people (*Ant.*, XVIII, 8, 4-6). Evidently the Talmudical legend and Josephus point to the same fact and to the same personality.

(3) There is a similar story related in the Talmud of another grandson of Onias, which throws light on the title of Abba: There was another great drought in the land, and the rabbis sent the little children to Hanan the Hidden One, to ask him to pray for rain, as he would not leave his hiding-place and join them. And when these little ones came to him, and said: "Abba, Abba, Father! Father! give us rain!" the saint knelt down in prayer, and cried: "O Master of the world! For the sake of these innocent ones, who know not how to discriminate between the Father who giveth rain and the father who cannot give, but only ask for rain, hear our prayer!" and, behold, rain came.

Concerning the name "the Hidden One," it should be observed that of his grandfather Onias, too, Josephus tells us that he kept himself hidden, and the reason given there (*Ant.*, XIV, 21) is a political one. It is much more likely, however, that it was the common practice of these Essene saints to keep themselves concealed and excluded from the world, exactly as John the Baptist did long before his life was imperilled. Elsewhere (*Tosefta, Rosh Hashana*, IV, 11) our Hanan is mentioned as Honi (Onias) the Little, or younger one. Our story, however, shows that the people called him Abba, father, in view of his saintly life.

(4) Another Abba who lived before the destruction of the temple exhibits traits which stamp him as Ḥasid, or Essene, viz. *Abba Saul, the son of Bathnith*. He was extremely scrupulous, giving full measure to such as bought the wine he produced, and when he died, he held his right hand up, saying, "See whether this hand was not clean and righteous!" He denounced in the following scathing terms the corruption and greed of the ruling

houses of the priesthood of his time: "Woe cometh unto me from the house of Boethus; woe from their club! Woe cometh unto me from the house of Kantharos; woe from their pen! Woe cometh unto me from the house of Ishmael ben Phabi; woe from their fist (grasp), for they fill the offices of high priests, and their sons are treasurers, their sons-in-law inspectors, while their servants go about beating us with their rods" (see Tosefta, *Menahot*, XIII, 21; *Babli Pesachim*, 57 a; and the remarks of Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, I, 50, 377, note).

Two other *Abbas* are mentioned there also in that connexion.

(5) *Abba ben Hanin*, who either joined Abba Saul of Bathnith in denouncing the priesthood in the above words, or spoke in his name. He has preserved traditions concerning the temple (*Middoth*, II, 6; *Derech Eretz Zutta*, IX; *Sifra*, 9 a).

(6) *Abba Saul* also denounced the ruling priesthood as "the men of violence who appropriated other people's property" (Tosefta, *Menahoth eodem*), and his traditions concerning temple and priesthood were regarded as of especial value and weight. His ethical teachings have an Essene character: "As God is merciful, so be thou merciful" (*Sabbath*, 133 b). He also enjoins on the business man scrupulous care in selling goods, lest the buyer be misled (*Baba Metzia*, IV, 12). Regarding also the various trades and their influence on character, Abba Saul expresses an opinion which characterizes him as Essene. See *Jerushalmi Kiddushim*, IV, at the close (where the correct reading of Mishna is preserved). *Abba Gorion* of Sidon says in the name of *Abba Saul*: "A man should not train his son to be a driver of ass or camel, a potter, a barber, or a mariner, a herdsman, or a merchant, because each of these trades easily leads to some sort of dishonesty." It is superfluous to say that this is exactly *Essene* teaching. His warning against the use of the Tetragrammaton (*Mishn.*, *Sanhedrin*, X, 1), and his rigid



view of the Levirate (*Tosefta Yebamoth*, VI, 11), betray also his Essene leanings.

(7) Another *Abba* famous for his *Hasidean* virtue was *Abba Jose ben Kitunta*, "the humble one." Of him they said: "When *Abba Jose the Humble One* departed, *Hasidean* virtue departed." (See *Tosefta, Sota*, XV, 5; Bacher, *Agada d. Tanaim*, II, 371).

(8) Of *Abba Hosaya of Tirayah* we are told that, when he died, the people saw his bier carried through the air heavenward, and they said: "No one was beloved by God like him" (*Midrash Rabba, Leviticus Emor*, 30). He was to his age sun and shield (*Kohelet Rabba*, Ve sarah hashemesh). He is also especially lauded for his scrupulous care in dealing with other people's property (*Tosefta, Baba Kama*, XI, 14; *Jerushalmi* B. K. 7 c and *Baba Metziah*, II, 4; *Midrash Thillim*, XII: he is called "a *Hasid*").

(9) Another *Abba*, whose name has been greatly disfigured, and undeservedly cast into obscurity, is *Abba Halifa ben Karuyah*. Of him we read that *Rabban Gamaliel the Younger* went to him, saying: "Pray for me!" whereupon he replied in the words of the Psalmist: "May the Lord give thee according to thy heart!" (*Midrash Thillim*, Ps. xx). That he must have been known for his piety and saintliness is evidenced by this very fact. In *Mass. Derech Eretz*, I, the same *Abba Halifa* gives in the name of *Abba Higma* the following *Hasidean* precepts: "Be not rash in making vows, lest thou violate an oath; nor be the guest of an ignorant priest, lest thou eat things holy to God; nor indulge in speaking with woman, lest thou mayest come to lust after her." In *Tosefta, Maaser Sheni*, IV, 5, and *Machshirin*, III, 3, he furnishes *Hasidean* rules regarding the tithes and Levitical purity. *Tosefta, Baba Kama*, IX, 31, it is *Abba Halifa* (not *Rabbi Hilfaï ben Agra*, as the copyists have it) of whom the strange utterance is preserved by *R. Johanan ben Nuri*: "He who tears his hair or his garments, his furniture or other valuables in his anger, is like one who serves an idol, for he

obeys the spirit of evil." See also the dialogue between God and the angels at the destruction of the temple given by R. [Abba] Halifa Midrash Thillim, Ps. cxxxvii (ed. Buber, p. 176, note 33), and *Pesiktha Rabbathi*, 28 (ed. Friedman, 135 b); also Abba Halifa b. Karuyah in *Tos. Maaser Sheni*, IV, 5, *Tos. Makshirin*, III, 3.

(10) *Abba Jose ben Dosai* (often quoted in *Tosefta* and Midrash as Rabbi Jose ben Dosai of Tzaitor), for both Hagadic and Halachic utterances, had communion with the spirits, and the following story is told of him (*Tanhuma*, and Midrash, *Rabba Kedoshim*, and Midrash Thillim, Ps. xx): A *Hasid*, Abba Jose ben Dosai of Tzaitor, passed a spring, when the spirit of the well came to him, saying: "For many years I have dwelt here without doing harm to any creature, and now another spirit wants to drive me off and inflict harm upon the people. For their sake aid me in killing my opponent." "How can I do so?" asked Abba Jose. "Go thou and tell all thy disciples (townsmen) to come hither with iron spits or hammers and beat upon the surface of the water, crying forth, 'Ours is the victory; Ours is the victory!'" and when you notice the following morning at daybreak a drop of blood in the water, be sure that the evil spirit is dead." Abba Jose did as he was told, and they saw the blood in the water. The evil spirit was dead. Here also the title of *Abba* had something to do with the powers attributed to him as saint by the people. Cp. for Halakic utterances by Abba Jose ben Dosai Zuckerman's *Tosefta Index*.

(11) Of *Abba Tahna* (or *Tehinna*) the Pious (*Hasida*) the following story is told in Midrash, *Kohleth Rabba*, IX, 7: He came back to town with his heavy bundle upon his shoulder, on a Friday afternoon, shortly before the beginning of the Sabbath, when he met a disease-stricken man unable to move, who asked him to have pity on him and bring him into town where he could be attended to. He pondered for a while whether he could afford to lay down his bundle, containing the provisions for his house-

hold for the Sabbath and attend to the sick man, thereby leaving his people without food, or whether he should provide for his household and leave the unfortunate man in his perilous condition. He decided to aid the sick man, and after he had brought him to a safe place, he went back to get his bundle. Meanwhile it had grown dark. The Sabbath had approached, and people who saw him carrying his bundle on his shoulder, wondered, saying: "Is this father Tahna the pious?" He felt conscience-stricken at having violated the sanctity of the Sabbath, when a miracle happened. The sun came forth shining again, and a voice was heard saying: "Go, eat thy bread in joy, and drink thy wine with gladness of heart, for God has accepted favourably thy work." Here again the title Abba was a tribute given by the people to the saint.

(12) Another popular saint distinguished by his great philanthropy was *Abba Yudan*. R. Eliezer, R. Joshua, and R. Akiba—so we are told in Midrash, *Vayikra Rabba*, 5, and *Yerush. Horioth*, III, 7, p. 48 a—on a tour collecting money for charity, came to the district of Antioch, where Abba Yudan lived. Abba Yudan had then by reverses in business lost wellnigh his whole fortune, and he was much distressed at the thought of his inability to give his full share as usual, but his wife, who was even more generous-hearted than he, advised him to sell the acre of land he still possessed and give half of the proceeds to the great teachers. He did so, and they blessed him, saying: "May God compensate your loss!" After a while they came again on the same errand and inquired after Abba Yudan. The townspeople said: "Abba Yudan, the owner of slaves, of cattle, goats and camels; Abba Yudan, the master of an immense fortune, he is inaccessible to the people!" Yet, no sooner did he learn of their arrival than he went to see them, and said: "My prosperity is all due to your blessing, your prayer was heard"; and he gave them in full measure. To which they answered: "Even when you gave no more than others the last time,

we placed you with your gift at the head of all. Your heart was large when you gave." Here, too, the name "father" was a popular recognition of the man's merit.

(13) *Abba Jose the Builder* (Banai) was famous for his intimacy with the mysteries of Creation—an especial privilege of the Essenes. The following is related of him in *Shmoth Rabba*, 13: Oenomaos of Gadara, the pagan philosopher, asked the rabbis: "How was the earth created at the beginning?" They answered: "None among us is familiar with these things except Abba Jose the Builder. Go and ask him." He went and found him working on the scaffold of a building. He addressed him, saying: "May I ask you a question?" "I am hired for a day's work and cannot leave here," he replied, "but you may ask while I remain up here." The philosopher repeated his question, and received the answer: "God took dust from beneath the throne of his glory and cast it into the primeval waters, and it thickened into earth, and the clods grew into hills and mountains" (according to Job xxxviii. 38).

(14) Another Abba shows his *Essene* views in a different way: *Abba Benjamin*, in a *Baraitha Berakot*, 5 b, gives his opinion concerning the position of the bed and the phylacteries<sup>1</sup> to be suspended over the same, concerning demons and the right time and place for prayer in order to be received favourably.

(15) Of one Abba we have a remarkable utterance of decidedly *Essene* character. *Abba Hanin*, pupil of R. Eliezer the great Shammaite saint, in whose name he preserved many traditions concerning the temple, says, not without reference to the priests of the last temple period: "Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, sinned by their false family pride, as no house seemed good enough for them to marry a daughter thereof, and so they remained single" (*Tanhuma Ahare Moth*, ed. Buber, III, 63; cf.

<sup>1</sup> Not prayer. Compare Schechter's *Aboth S. R. Nathan*, 165, and *Berachoth*, 24 a.

*Pesikta R. Cahana*, 172 b, and *Midrash Thillim*, Ps. lxxviii. 18).

(16) *Abba Jose the Hauranite* (*Tos. Mikvaoth*, III, 14), perhaps identical with R. Jose ha Horem, *Sifra Emor*, III a.

(17) *Abba Jose of Mahoz* (see *Tosefta, Mikvaoth*, III, 14; *Mechiltha* to *Exod.* xiv. 15; and Bruell in Frankel's *Monatsschr.*, 375, 1868).

(18) *Abba Elazar* (*Sifra*, II, 2). Cp. *Abba Elazar* of Bene B'rak, *Shir Nashirim Sutta*, ed. Buber, p. 40.

(19) *Abba Pnemon* (*Jerush. Terumma*, III, p. 42 b) is only mentioned as giving traditions concerning temple practice, and views concerning Moses' great powers, and concerning the evil spirit, &c.

(20) While all these, with the exception of *Abba Hoshaya*, belong to the age of the Tannaim, we see a new class of Abbases rise in the second century, viz. Meturgemans or preachers who receive the title of *Abba*, father. R. Juda ha Nasi had a preacher or Meturgeman by the name of *Abba Yudan* (*Bereshith Rabba*, 10), whose name was also contracted into *Abdan* (*Jerushalmi Berachot*, VIIa; *Babli Jebamoth*, 105 b). To this class of preachers entitled "father" belonged, probably in a preceding age,—

(21) *Abba Gorion* the preacher (cp. *Abba Yudan* of Gorion, *Shir Nashirim Sutta*, ed. Buber, p. 38), and towards the close of the age of the Amoraim,—

(22) *Abba Hoshaya*, mentioned above (see Zunz, *G.*, V, 2, 185, and also about *Abba*, preacher, see Zunz, *G.*, V, 2, pp. 333 and 351). *Abba Doresh* and *Abba bar Zutra*, referred to by Zunz, do not belong here, as *Abba* is here a proper noun and not a title. So *Abba the Barber* in *Taanit*. 21 b.

It will be noticed that *Abba* as title was known only in Palestine, where the ancient Hasidean life continued long after the destruction of the temple. In Babylonia the name *Abba* occurs only as a proper name, not as a title.

Two more Abbases require explanation:—

(23) *Abba Sikra*, "Father (of) the Sicarian" head of

the zealots (*Gittin*, 56 a), identified by Rappoport (*Erech*, *Millin*, I, p. 257), Midrash, *Echa Rabbati*, ed. Buber, p. 66, n. 254, with Ben Patiah as nephew of Johanan ben Zakkai (Midrash, *Echa*, I, 5), "the Melon-like" man of robust form. Rappoport compares Athronges, the *Ethrog* or citron-like leader of a sedition soon after the death of King Herod (Josephus, *Ant.*, XVII, 107), but goes too far in identifying him with the same.

(24) Of *Abba Colon* we have a strange legend in *Shir Hashirim Rabba*, I, 6, according to which he was the founder of the island on which Rome was built. He brought earth from the river Euphrates and threw it into the Sea, and so the island was formed. He is therefore called the *Father Colonus*, "founder of the Colony." (Compare the story of Rome built on a piece of land formed by the angel Gabriel, *Sabbath*, 56 a, and the remark of Abba Banai on the formation of the earth above.) The name given to the Essenes by Strabo and Josephus is *Ktistes* or *Polistes*, "founders of townships," that is pioneers, Banaim, and this practice of an older generation of Essenes may have given rise to our odd legend.

Let us now see whether we cannot find some reason for the fact that *Abba*, father, was a favourite title among the Essenes or Hasideans.

Dr. Jastrow in his Dictionary, s.v. אבא, explains the expression "father Elijah" in *Sanhedrin*, 113 b, to be meant "sarcastically." But note that R. Jose was in constant communion with Elijah the prophet. He addressed him when he met him: "My master and teacher," *Rabbi u Mori* (*Brachoth*, 3 a). One day he spoke to his disciples of his impetuosity in his treatment of King Ahab, and he said: "Father Elijah was quick tempered." What happened? For three days Elijah did not appear to him. On the fourth day he again appeared to him, and R. Jose did not hesitate to take this very absence as due to the remark he had made and as corroboration of his statement. Thus far the Talmudical narrative. What sarcasm

is there in the title Abba, father? "Väterchen Elias" translates Bacher (*Agada d. Tannaim*, II, 163) similarly, also mistaking the meaning of the word. Neither Bacher nor Jastrow noticed that, just because Elijah often appeared to the initiated in the garb of a venerable saint (as, in fact, he is often called in the Talmud, *hahu Saba*, yonder aged; see *Tosafoth Chollin*, 6 a), he is quoted, like any other teacher, as "father Elijah." Thus we read (Mas., *Calla*, III): "Abba Elijah, may he be remembered for good! said, 'The Torah is explained only to him who is not quick tempered.'" Likewise we read in *Tana de be Eliahu Zuta*, XV: "Abba Eliahu, may he be remembered for good and for blessing! said,' &c. Throughout the whole book *Tana de be Eliahu*, we find Elijah introduced like any other teacher, exactly as the prophet Jeremiah appeared to Philo while the latter was in a state of ecstasy, as a living "teacher and hierophant" (Philo, *Mang.*, I, 147).

Throughout the Bible, especially in the Wisdom literature, the instructor is the father, and the disciples, those that sit at the feet of the wise, his children. This fatherly relation of the teacher to his pupils was maintained also in the early days of the Scribes. Upon it rested the Essene mode of life. Both Josephus (*Wars*, II, 8, 2) and Philo ("The Virtuous being also free," XII) tell us that the young were regarded as children, and the pupils looked up to their teachers as to fathers. This patriarchal system was continued in the ecclesiastical and monastic institutions of the Christian community. As these relations, however, changed in the schools, and the head was invested with the dignity of the master, the title *Abba* became a survival of the ancient practice, an occasional token of honour bestowed upon some popular saint or preacher. This was little understood by later generations, and therefore the title was often dropped or replaced by the name "Rabbi."

K. KOHLER.